R E P O R T R E S U M E S

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SECOND NATIONAL NEA--PR/R CONFERENCE ON CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN EDUCATION (WASHINGTON, D.C., MAY 10-11, 1965).
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSN., WASHINGTON, D.C.

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THIS CONFERENCE REPORT SUMMARIZES THE SPEECHES AND DIALOGUES OF THE PARTICIPANTS FROM VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS. SOME OF THE ISSUES WHICH WERE DISCUSSED INCLUDE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY AS AFFECTED BY CURRICULUM DEMANDS, INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS, TEACHER ATTITUDES, AND BIG CITY PLANS TO END SEGREGATION. THE NEGRO PROTEST MOVEMENT, CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION AND PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, AND THE RIGHTS OF MINORITY GROUP TEACHERS WERE OTHER TOPICS OF DISCUSSION. AMONG THE PROJECTS OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION (NEA) WHICH ARE DESCRIBED ARE A FUND TO ASSIST TEACHERS WHO HAVE BEEN UNFAIRLY DISMISSED FROM THEIR JOBS OR WHOSE PROFESSIONAL RIGHTS HAVE OTHERWISE BEEN VIOLATED AND NEA URBAN SERVICES. IN ADDITION, A SERIES OF STEPS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ACTION PROGRAMS FOR EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY ARE LISTED. (LB)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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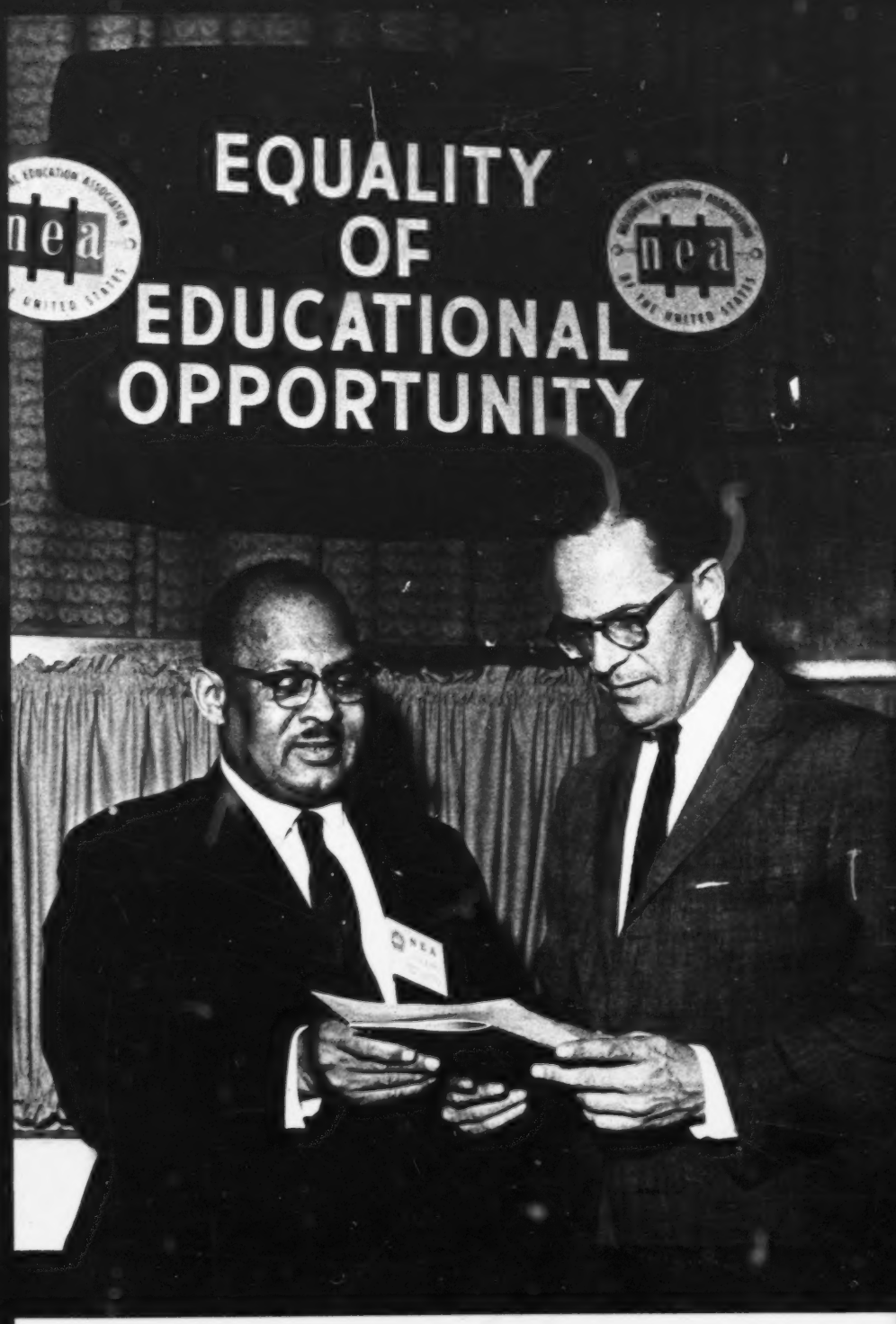
SECOND NATIONAL NEA – PR&R CONFERENCE ON CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS ~~IN ED~~UCATION

May 10 and 11, 1965
Washington, D. C.



COMMISSION ON PROFESSIONAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Calling the Roll

Commission Member Henry M. Williams

introduced conferees representing these organizations . . .

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL LIBRARIANS
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN TEXTBOOK PUBLISHERS INSTITUTE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
ASSOCIATION FOR CHILDHOOD EDUCATION INTERNATIONAL
ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE AND HISTORY
CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK
THE COLLOQUIUM OF ALL SOULS CHURCH UNITARIAN
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (National and D. C. Chapter)
DALLAS COUNTY VOTERS LEAGUE
D. C. TEACHERS COLLEGE
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
INTEGRATED EDUCATION ASSOCIATES
LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (NAACP)
MILES COLLEGE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
HORACE MANN LEAGUE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS
NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES CLEARING HOUSE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS
THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION - MARCH OF DIMES
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
PEPSI-COLA INTERNATIONAL
PHELPS-STOKES FUND
PHI DELTA KAPPA, INC.
PHILADELPHIA BOARD OF EDUCATION
POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS
STUDENT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK
TALLADEGA COLLEGE
UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND
UNITED PLANNING ORGANIZATION
U. S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION
URBAN LEAGUE OF GREATER NEW YORK
VOICE OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON LITERACY COUNCIL
WILMINGTON CHAPTER NAACP
WORLD CONFEDERATION OF ORGANIZATIONS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION

STATE ASSOCIATIONS

ALABAMA STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
ARKANSAS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
ARKANSAS TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
CONNECTICUT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
DELAWARE STATE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
FLORIDA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, INC.
FLORIDA STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
GEORGIA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
ILLINOIS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
IOWA STATE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
KENTUCKY EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
LOUISIANA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
MARYLAND STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
MASSACHUSETTS TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
MICHIGAN EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
MINNESOTA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
MISSOURI STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
NEBRASKA STATE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NEW JERSEY EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NEW MEXICO EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NEW YORK STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
NORTH CAROLINA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NORTH CAROLINA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
OHIO EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
PENNSYLVANIA STATE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
RHODE ISLAND EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
PALMETTO EDUCATION ASSOCIATION (S. C.)
TENNESSEE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
TENNESSEE EDUCATION CONGRESS
TEACHERS STATE ASSOCIATION OF TEXAS
TEXAS STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
VIRGINIA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
VIRGINIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
WYOMING EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

NEA AFFILIATES AND UNITS

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AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL LIBRARIANS
AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL ARTS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ART EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT
EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF AUTOMATION PROJECT
AUDIOVISUAL INSTRUCTIONAL SERVICES DIVISION
COUNCIL FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
CITIZENSHIP COMMITTEE
CLASSROOM TEACHERS
SCHOOL DROPOUTS PROJECT
EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION
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NEA JOURNAL
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MEMBERSHIP DIVISION
MUSIC NATIONAL CONFERENCE EDUCATORS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF MATHEMATICS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF URBAN EDUCATION ASSOCIATIONS
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NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORIES
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PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE
PROFESSIONAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES
PRESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION RELATIONS
RESEARCH DIVISION
RURAL EDUCATION SERVICE
SPEECH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
TEACHER EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS
URBAN SERVICES

Conference Coordinator: Samuel B. Ethridge.

Conference Committees:

Planning—Oscar E. Thompson, **Chairman**, Richard B. Kennan, Samuel B. Ethridge, Richard L. Morgan, Bernice C. Brigham, Mrs. Letha E. Walters, Edith Goldman, Mrs. Imogene Lofton;

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Conference Editor: Dorothy C. Massie;

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MONDAY

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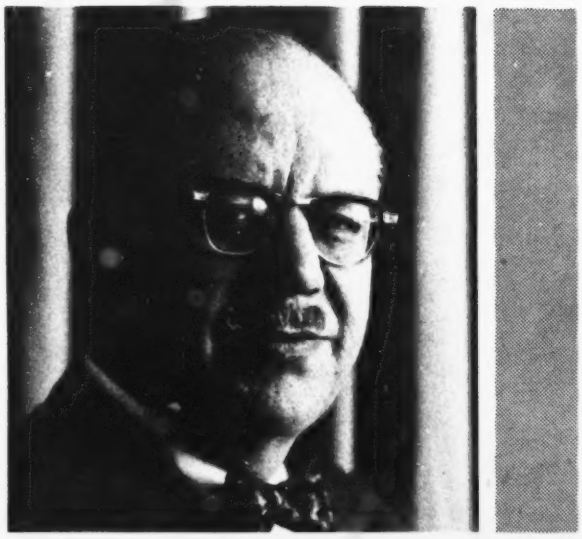
OVERVIEW



Richard B. Kennan
Executive Secretary

NEA Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities

In early 1963, the NEA Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities began planning for meetings to bring together leading educators and leaders in the civil rights movement. Through such confrontations, we hoped to clarify: (1) the responsibilities of the education profession for advancing civil rights; and (2) the obligation of the civil rights movement participants for making practical, constructive proposals to help educators to meet their responsibilities.

The design for this meeting was set forth at a smaller meeting held in May 1964. The 1964 conference involved representatives of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Urban League, the U.S. Office of Education, and NEA staff members.

It is our belief that the problem of providing equal educational opportunity for all transcends the problems of big cities or the problems of rural areas or even the problems of minority groups. Many underlying issues are closely related to the conference topic. But those who planned these meetings felt that the most valuable results would be achieved by devoting major emphasis to three considerations:

- *How to end inferior education, including plans for ending de facto segregation;*
- *How to find and develop enough teachers with the communicative skills, the attitudes, and the empathy that are essential if we are to achieve a high level of equality of educational opportunity anywhere in our nation;*
- *How to locate and secure materials and curriculums that will improve and expand educational opportunities for all.*

This conference brings together two great forces in our national life: the power structure of the organized teaching profession and the power structure of the organized civil and human rights movement. We hope that the dialogue thus initiated will continue at regional, state, and local levels, and that the proposals offered here for constructive and cooperative action will be carried on through the influence of conference participants upon legislators, school officials, classroom teachers, and communications media.

The Commission believes that educators can learn from leaders of the civil and human rights movement much that will be helpful in providing greater equality of educational opportunity. We believe that the rights movement leaders will also gain from such meetings as these some new ideas, techniques, and perhaps even inspiration for advancing their programs and causes. And we have faith that together these two great forces can make even mightier contributions to the advancement of our mutual interests in the welfare of our nation.

Keynote:

THE SCHOOLS and the CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION*

Dan W. Dodson, Director
Center for Human Relations
New York University

Changing Emphasis in School Desegregation

The Brown Decision in 1954 opened the door for a tremendous amount of legal activity as the country sought to determine the perimeters of law in desegregation of educational institutions. Both northern and southern communities have been affected by the tension and turmoil as minorities have sought to remove the stigma of "Jim Crow." During the past two years, despair has gripped the Negro community as it has experienced the intransigence of the white leadership; hence the issues have been removed from the conference tables, the courts, and the public discussion channels to the streets.

The trend is toward political pressure. In democratic process, politics is the major channel through which power is redistributed, and it is now abundantly clear that the gains of the future will be accomplished through application of power. Unless the minority of their friends are sophisticated and organized to exert power, there is little hope that schools will do other than they have always done—cater to the established power arrangement of the community.

The following issues are submitted as crucial in such considerations:

1. Education as an instrument of social reform.

Minority groups within the inner cities of America pin their hopes on the public school. They expect the school to close the academic gap between their children and the sophisticated children who are accustomed to urban life. The Negro portion of the group comes from a heritage of Jim Crow and the myth of trying to make "separate" equal. De facto segregated schools are a symbol of a heritage of servitude. They expect the schools to do something about these conditions. They do not believe it can be done in "business as usual" segregated schools.

The school leadership also believes in the school as an instrument of social change, but not through use of dynamic intervention. Educators tend to believe that a good education is a kind of built-in pressure to social change—change through *evolution*, however, rather than through *revolution*.

2. Conflict over educational ideologies.

Most civil rights leaders are convinced that it is as traumatizing to Negro youth to be required to attend schools under *de facto* segregated conditions as under those considered *de jure*. The growing conviction that quality education cannot be achieved in segregated schools is reflected in decisions of state authorities in New York, New Jersey, and California. In each instance the authorities found no evidence of discrimination, but said that the very fact of racial imbalance deprived youths of the quality of education the state had the right to expect the community to provide.

The superintendents tend to program from their experience with other minority groups. They indicate that these groups never complained when a school was segregated if the community housing was also segregated and the school composition reflected that of the community.

3. Identity with power.

A superintendent of schools is beholden to the power elements of the community for his position. In the past those who administered the institutions for the power structure worked through integrative processes. They got the bright ones of the minority involved. They alienated them from the group of which they were a part. When such bright ones are sufficiently sandpapered to the dimensions of the power order, they are transmuted into the dominant group. This is the integrative process.

With the Negro, this process bogs down at the point of transmutation. When he is ready to be transmuted there is no place for him to go. His color stands as a badge of identity. His transmutation is into limbo. Thus, the present hiatus of public education leadership—for it has marvelous ability to work through integrative processes, but little skill in leading a community to work through shared power relationships as the erstwhile minority insists on coming to community decision-making to participate as peers.

4. Factors involved in assignment of children to school.

Factors influencing school assignment practices include distance to be traveled, building capacity, school organization, and special programs. Some schools have been willing to include in these criteria the mixing of racial and socioeconomic groups. Does mixing warrant enough weight to cancel out the neighborhood concept to achieve desegregation? The school leadership answers with a resounding no! Civil rights leaders in some instances think it does.

The assignment of weights to the various factors in school assignments is one of the

** Included in this report are points of emphasis extracted from conference addresses and discussion. Copies of the addresses of Dr. Dodson, Mr. Keppel, and Mr. Mitchell may be obtained without charge from the NEA PR&R Commission.*

major issues facing many communities today. Much of the controversy relates to the weighting of these factors, rather than conflict over goals.

5. Method of Procedure.

Educators are by nature gradualists. In desegregation situations the educators prefer trial runs of a few schools to get the experience of it so as to hold mistakes to a minimum. Civil rights leaders have dealt with gradualism for a long time. They have had much experience with insincere leaders who appoint committees to study problems in the hope of circumventing action. They contend, perhaps rightly, that to take a few schools for experimentation means that these become resegregated by the withdrawal of whites. How to reconcile these differences is one of our many problems.

6. Charismatic versus bureaucratic leadership.

In the great cities, with their scarcity of resource, their fragmented group interests, there is need for a special quality of school leader. He must be a man who can interpret to the various groups the great need to resolve their differences and work together for good schools. Unless this can be done, any victory of any one group will be a Pyrrhic one, because "mixing the bodies" without quality education will accomplish little. A bureaucrat whose perception of role is keeping the "sand out of the gears" of the bureaucracy will not suffice for this job. Yet the training of superintendents is in the direction of these "bricks and mortar" administrators. When the civil rights leader confronts this type of administrator, they speak different languages. The civil rights leader talks of what "ought to be." The administrator talks of all the reasons why it cannot be. One talks of innovations. The other talks of limitations.

7. Scholarship versus citizenship goals of education.

The civil rights leaders contend that it is the responsibility of the school to lead youths of different backgrounds into meaningful encounters with each other to the end that they learn the skills of citizenship commensurate with their era. They would like to see teachers respect youths of all backgrounds and abilities so that all learn that they have worth. By contrast, the school is under the heaviest pressure of all time to concentrate on the scholarship goals of education. Much resistance to school desegregation results from the stereotype that minority children are slow learners and if mixed with those who are facile will disrupt the progress of the latter. When we did the study of the Greenburg School District No. 8 and showed them the data to indicate that the brightest children were not penalized by the desegregated schools, some would not believe it.

Civil rights leaders, of course, want scholarship, but they do not propose to see this fetish for scholarship for majority youth stand in the way of citizenship goals which require inter-racial encounters for their educational value.

8. Public relations versus performance.

Civil rights leaders have a great amount of cynicism about the gimmicks and public relations props used by educational administrators to beguile people out of frustration over poor school performance. Here, the educator faces one of his soberest problems. If there is not enough to go around, how does he distribute the scarce resource equitably? If he neglects the schools outside the minority areas, the citizens tend to flee to the suburbs. If he neglects those in the neighborhoods of transition, it only adds to the frustration of trying to live in mixed neighborhoods and speeds the withdrawal of the dominant group. If he neglects the ghettoes, it brings him into the limelight of publicity with charges of discrimination. The tendency is to provide "paper equality" in the slums and try to hold the children of the upper classes in the white neighborhoods.

If the school administrator tells the community how bad the schools are, he lowers morale and drives more people out of the public school system. Thus, he tends to become defensive about the schools and gets maneuvered into positions which are indefensible. There has been no way perfected, to my knowledge, by which the schools can be attacked—even with a view to getting more support for them—without defensiveness on the part of the leadership.

9. Working with tension.

It is next to impossible for a school system in a community which is in tension to be permissive and relaxed. As the leadership become insecure in its relations with the community, it tends to "play its cards close to its chest," administer by directive, and take no chances. This is soon transferred to the teaching staff. The difference between an effective teacher and a pedestrian performer is usually morale. The teachers who do the fine work in upper income neighborhoods and those who do lackluster jobs in slums are selected by comparable criteria and both meet the same employment standards. The difference is morale.

10. Behaving responsibly versus behaving.

Horace Mann was one of the great leaders of American education. It was only after he retired that he attacked bitterly the business interests which restrict American education. Why did a man of his stature behave one way when he was in office and another way when he was out? An outstanding school board member with whom I worked had previously been chairman of the human relations council in his community and an open critic of the school system's policies concerning segregation. When, as a board member, he sought my service, he said, "You know, the problems look different when seen from the other side of the table."

Why this behavior? Is it lack of understanding of the issues when one is out of the responsible, decision-making positions, or is it that when one assumes these positions, his perception of role changes?

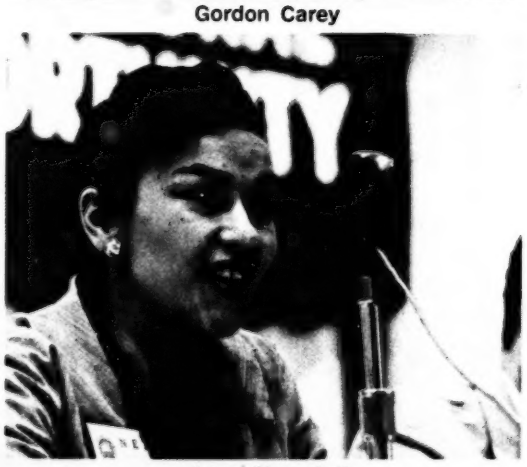
Conclusion

Some conflict is inevitable in a free society. We cannot have freedom and not have differences. We cannot have differences and not have conflict. No entrenched interest will surrender its advantages without resistance. Freedom, to be secure, must be earned. Power has to be taken. It cannot be bestowed. This power taking on the part of the Negroes in this revolution should be seen as goodness. The alternative is continued apathy. The taking of power represents the most precious faiths we have about people—that all love freedom; that all chafe under oppression; that all have the capacity to participate meaningfully in the collective determination of their destiny.

SYMPOSIUM – POINTS OF VIEW

CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS SPEAK TO EDUCATORS

Gordon Carey



June Shagaloff

Otis Finley

Gordon Carey
Congress of Racial Equality

The Civil Rights Bill, the Economic Opportunity Act, the new Education Bill, and the pending Voter Rights Bill have placed a new context in which the civil rights groups must work. We would like to see these groups throw aside some of their former tactics and get down to more meaningful activities which relate directly to the economic and sociological needs of our constituencies. The obstinacy of school systems, however, will probably prevent us from doing this. We will continue to have boycotts and demonstrations—not because we want to—but because we have no choice.

I think you should see these militant tactics of the civil rights organizations as a potential for helping you rather than a threat. For years the schools have been complaining that Negro parents, particularly, have taken no interest in the education of their children. The parents of Negro children have been apathetic and the schools have been lamenting this.

You have not been able to involve them —but where you failed, we have succeeded. We took these same apathetic parents and put them out on picket lines making very real demands of you—sometimes unreasonable demands; but we at least got them involved. They are demanding educational equality in integrated classrooms. This is an opportunity for you as teachers and administrators to get the kinds of things in the schools that you want—based upon the pressures we supply.

I would like to see some kind of an alliance for progress between civil rights groups and educators. We will have to disagree on certain things, but we should try to understand that we are not enemies.

June Shagaloff
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

We too hope that an alliance with the American public school system is possible —but it is only possible if the teaching and administrative personnel and those in policy-making positions are capable of and willing to change. We are calling on school officials across the country to abandon their *private* positions of color consciousness and to adopt *public* positions of color consciousness—not to discriminate, but to eliminate and correct the racial discriminations of the past.

We are urging school systems to consider and adapt in terms of the unique characteristics of their school situations: **City-wide rezoning plans for maximum desegregation; re-examination of school feeder patterns; reorganization of the use of schools; the educational center; site selection and school expansion programs to prevent further segregation; assignment of students from overcrowded, predominantly Negro to under-utilized, predominantly white schools.**

The resistance to change is considerable —and the resistance is not only from outside the school system, but all too often from within the school system. In those places where school officials respond only by delay, by evasion, by token plans of desegregation, the NAACP has no alternative but to call for demonstrations and to file legal actions challenging de facto segregated schools.

Otis Finley
Urban League

I submit to you that, whatever public education has meant to our country, **public education as we know it today is not democratic; it is class-oriented and it is caste-oriented. It is not fulfilling the mission that it is supposed to fulfill.**

The only way we can move forward to make education what it has to be in the 20th century is to be concerned with the many complex facets of the problem:

What should be the role of instructional material in light of the increasing demands that we are placing on education as one of our major democratic institutions?

Does the white youngster today get an equal educational opportunity in terms of needs of our society? Is not he also being deprived of the instruction that will help him to develop the concepts, the orientations, and the images that all of our children need if they are to move forward in

(Continued page 13, see Finley)

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT AND EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

David S. Seeley
Equal Educational Opportunities Program
U.S. Office of Education

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act is a legal instrument. Its context is constitutional. Its purpose is to prevent unconstitutional discrimination in any federally-assisted program. There is, however, a clear distinction in our minds between segregation *de jure* and *de facto*. Title VI does not empower the Commissioner of Education to impose his personal views on local school districts as to what they ought to do in de facto segregated situations. School districts that maintain a dual system may not participate in any federally-assisted programs. With regard to de facto segregation, clearly we are required to impose the requirements of Title VI in any situation where there is gerrymandering of school districts in order to increase or preserve the segregation of schools.

The current status of the law about de facto segregation is at this time unsettled. There are cases now on appeal before the courts which may in time develop a body of law eventually reaching the Supreme Court, which will extend the 1954 decision to include the responsibility to correct racial imbalance; if this is the case, I presume that the requirement of Title VI would follow this same requirement.

Title IV, which we view as largely an educational program, permits us to operate in the area of defacto segregation in a way that Title VI does not permit. Under Title IV, the Office of Education is authorized to (1) provide consultative services to help a local school district with its desegregation problems; (2) contract with institutions of higher learning to conduct institutes for the in-service training of school personnel; and (3) grant funds to a local district to enable the district itself to conduct an in-service program or to appoint its own consultants.

A BOARD MEMBER REPORTS ON BIG CITY PROBLEMS AND PLANS

Aaron Brown
New York City Board of Education

The Great Cities Program, with which I am identified, is participated in by school board members and superintendents from the 15 large cities (over 500,000 population) of this country. At the Great Cities Conference held last week in Chicago, these board members and administrators discussed some of their most serious concerns:

Mobility of the population—the immigration of southern rural Negroes, Appalachian whites, and Puerto Ricans, bringing with them the frustrations and crippling

David S. Seeley

Aaron Brown

Elizabeth Koontz

limitations of economic and educational neglect. Such people have a right as citizens to look for new opportunities. This means that a more democratic way of looking at this whole matter of school finance must be found.

Heterogeneity of the student body—growing from the sharp deviations in the cultural, educational, and socio-economic status of the students;

(Note: Although these excerpts are from Dr. Brown's comments concerning educational problems and programs of large cities, he also reported on the work of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, with which he is associated as Educational Projects Director. The Foundation has done pioneer work in education for human development and improved intergroup relations both in the North and South. In the late 1950's, the organization conducted a pre-freshman college program (the first of its kind in the South) bringing southern Negro high-school youth to cooperating southern colleges to participate in pre-college educational career guidance conferences.)

De facto segregated schools and classrooms—as a result of segregated housing patterns;

Unionization of teachers—The AFT under the AFL-CIO was recognized in our city in 1962 and last week we recognized a new union consisting of 11 groups of supervisory personnel, currently comprising an organization of almost 1,000.

Involving the community in helping to meet the goals of equal educational opportunity—A number of the large-city boards are meeting with parents, unions, and largescale employers, to discuss common problems and to emphasize to them that this is not only a concern of the schools, but a concern of all democratic people.

Finance—As chairman for the past year of the Conference of Large City Boards of Education of New York State, it has been my responsibility to direct this group's work in developing graphic materials charting the amount of money we ought to spend where it can best be used in the schools. We are trying to demonstrate the desirability of spending money on these children when it is still possible to encourage their development as productive future citizens, rather than to wait and care for them later in detention homes, on welfare, in jails and prisons.

Whether we are in NEA, AFT, or any other type of organization; whether we serve on school boards or on administrative staffs—all these are *service* functions to the most important part of the school system—*instruction*. The major portion of our time must be devoted to creating an atmosphere conducive to a more wholesome and effective relationship between a teacher and a learner.

A CLASSROOM TEACHER RESPONDS

Elizabeth Koontz
President-Elect, NEA
Department of Classroom Teachers

We feel that as educators we know a great deal more about what we need in training, in classroom materials, services, and space; and yet in too many instances these decisions are being made by boards of education, by state boards of education, and by a number of people who have not been in the classroom for 15 years; who, in effect, hold little or no regard for a public school teacher, and who have not given any allegiance to local associations and their problems of trying to assume professional responsibility.

There are people who have been waiting to hear us as educators speak—and we have not spoken. We have been a little afraid of what that board of education would do. I think there are some civil rights groups that can give some support to teachers. Our professional organizations are struggling right now trying to remain professional and out of the control of any segment of the society. We are going to need some help with this. We are going to need all of you—your support and your respect.

Luncheon Session

GREETINGS TO CONFEREES

William G. Carr
Executive Secretary
National Education Association

The National Education Association and its members have fought for equality of educational opportunity for more than a century. The Association has had a policy of being open to teachers of all races since it was founded in 1857.

Since 1951, the National Education Association has refused to meet in any community which would not offer all of its members equal opportunity in housing and dining. I believe it was the first major national organization to take this position. The Association has been closely involved in all of the efforts since 1954, to protect the integrity of the educational system, to keep our public schools open, to urge that they are not expendable.

The Association was active in the Prince Edward County, Virginia, case by filing a brief *amicus* with the courts on the long road to final victory there. It was active in Little Rock, Arkansas; it was active in the New Orleans crisis in 1960; it has been active in defending the rights of minority-group teachers who have been improperly disciplined, assigned, or treated because of racial discrimination. We have in the courts now a number of such cases and I don't doubt that there will be many more.

Therefore, in meeting in this building, those who seek equality of opportunity are meeting in a place which is congenial to their brightest hopes and their firmest convictions.

Buell C. Gallagher
President
The City College of New York

. . . on the Character of The Current Revolution

In this revolution, fundamental to it, are the attitudes with which it is carried on. I am one of those who do not believe that the end justifies the means—quite the contrary; the means determine and define the ends. You cannot carry through a revolution such as that which was carried through, let us say, in Czarist-Russia, based on hatred and invective, without building that hatred, invective, and suspicion into the resulting system.

Who Speaks for Fraternity?

In this current revolution of ours I should like, therefore, to call our attention to the three historic and classical components of revolution — liberty, equality, and fraternity. One hears much in the current day about liberty and equality, but who speaks for fraternity? Where do you find the movement for brotherhood? Not in the current scene of the American revolution is it even given passing mention. Thus, it comes about that the revolution through which we are now going is guided by only two of the fundamental factors of revolution—at least in the classical sense of revolution.

What is the character of liberty? Liberty is essentially the freedom of the individual to advance himself and his interest and the interests of others like him. It is essentially the opportunity to move forward and upward. When there is complete freedom and complete liberty, unchecked by external forces and not harnessed by the individual's own self-control, that liberty tends to result in license. Thus it is that when liberty is free to exert itself without restraint, it is necessary to control it—to balance it with equality. And so these forces of liberty and equality feed on each other. The more equality, the less liberty; the more liberty the less equality. They are mutually destructive forces fighting one another—in the absence of fraternity.

The reconciliation of these two contradictory values is to be found only in a genuine fraternity. Now it is very hard to sell that bill of goods today. There has been so much of specious fraternity through the generations. We have had for these three centuries of the existence of this country much talk of brotherhood. "Of course, I'm the *big* brother and you're the *little* brother, but we're *brothers*."

The kind of genuine fraternity that we are talking about is the kind that embraces the features of equality and liberty. We cannot accept brotherhood *instead* of liberty and freedom—or liberty and freedom *instead* of brotherhood. Rejecting both horns of this dilemma, I suggest that the essence of our current revolution lies in finding a genuine and inclusive brotherhood which includes equality and liberty in large embrace of the whole.

Freedom of opportunity must mean a lot more than freedom from restraint; it must be a freedom *to do*. Neither freedom nor equality becomes possible except as there is a readiness to accept and to respect all others.

The real revolution—the time of sudden change—is only the accumulation of long, long change. One suspects, as we move through the very rapid changes of this present moment of history, that we are merely bringing to fruition the accumulation of the glacial movements of the generations, and that we shall face a promising future with high hopes only to the extent that we bring out of this present moment of crisis the affirmative affections of mankind that transcend all differences and firmly root us in the common effort to create a nation and a world of brotherhood in which liberty and equality can be at peace.

Group Meetings—
EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

as affected by:

Curriculum Demands and

Instructional Materials

Moderator: **John H. Marvin,** Institute for Research on Human Resources, Pennsylvania State University. Panelists: **Robert L. Alfonso,** NEA Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development; **Jeanne Brooker,** Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction; **Meyer Weinberg,** Integrated Education Associates; **Mrs. Elizabeth Yates,** NEA Committee on International Relations.

THE TASK

To overcome white middle-class bias in textbooks; to build true appreciation for Negro culture for the benefit of both Negro and white children; to provide instructional materials that reflect reality—not just for the child of the privileged majority—but for the slum child, the Negro child; to give disadvantaged youth preparation and motivation to compete for success in school and in life.

THE GREATEST OBSTACLE TO TEXTBOOK CHANGE

The high prosperity of the textbook industry. A panelist's comment: "Businessmen do not rock the boat when the vessel is full."

FORCES FOR CHANGE

Changes in textbook practices will come when—

- the textbook industry sees profits in change;
- the civil rights movement takes on a major part of the responsibility for initiating change;
- schoolmen refuse to accept text materials that, through omission or commission, promote racial prejudice and obstruct interracial understanding; and when they no longer perpetuate white middle-class bias in the materials they write.

STATUS QUO IN THE SCHOOLS WHERE THE STATUS LIES . . . AND STAYS

Too often, efforts to compensate for inequality of educational opportunity have resulted in giving disadvantaged children more—but more of the same, the same teachers, the same counselors, the same attitudes. Re-evaluation of curriculums and materials will not produce significant results unless we also re-examine and improve current school practices and value judgments.

A few disquieting questions show the scope of inequity . . .

- *Which teachers have the higher status in a school system?*
- *Which youngsters are given status in any school?*
- *Which budget items are given priority?*
- *What parents, individuals, groups from the community are accepted and valued in the schools?*

DIRECTIONS FOR CHANGE

We need more preparation for a world view and for a truer understanding of Negroes in our own country. Most of the world's people are nonwhite, just now becoming aware of their strength and of the uses of power. They may be the ones who shape the future.

Africa, the second largest continent in the world, is not taught. It is still viewed as a strange land of savages, cannibals, tree-house dwellers. The school teaches the Negro child nothing that will help him to develop pride in his Negro ancestry or in himself.

Facts of history—facts of any kind—are not enough. We need teachers who can interpret, develop new insights, new feelings, new understandings.

We must alert Negro children to worldwide opportunities for jobs and careers. Seeing no possibility of economic and social reward for the learning of academic skills, the ghetto-scarred Negro youth sees little reason to learn. It is understandable if he chooses instead the escape route of apathy and hopelessness or blindly destructive revolt.

PRACTICAL PROPOSAL FOR CHANGE

A TVA FOR TEXTBOOKS

Meyer Weinberg

Much to its credit, the civil rights movement has given major impetus to a reevaluation of the history of the Negro American. Thus far, the accomplishment in terms of actual textbook content, however, is hardly more than token. Substantial progress will have been achieved when publishers produce a number of integrated American histories.

Significant change will either come from the civil rights movement or it will not come at all. **The movement can initiate a kind of TVA for textbooks.** You will recall the plight of farmers in the Tennessee Valley during the first three decades of this century. Electrification passed them by primarily because the private power companies asserted the unprofitability of serving a limited demand. TVA demonstrated that electric power could be generated and distributed economically and profitably; it thus served as a yardstick against which to measure the performance of private firms.

The civil rights movement could well organize a national commission on, let us say, research into the history of the Negro American. Research groups, utilizing the talents and interest of the academic world, could be organized on a regional basis, perhaps grouped around selected universities. Financial support could be provided in amounts comparable with those provided by commercial publishers. (These latter are erroneously thought by nonwriters to be enormous. In fact, however, they are not; nor are advance royalties provided for most books.)

Once completed, a manuscript could be marketed in either of two ways: (1) It could be printed and distributed on contract or by a university press, with the proceeds going to the authors after the advanced sums are repaid; (2) A completed manuscript could be offered to a commercial publisher with provision for repaying sums advanced.

A basic financial reason for the present double-image of "northern" and "southern" editions of the same textbook is that southern states often band together and confront publishers with a large potential sale: "Either revise or lose the combined order." Moreover, social studies textbooks written in a bland style are highly acceptable "up North." With the advent of the civil rights movement it becomes politically possible to have large cities and states band together and assert their bargaining ability.

Indeed, it is not inconceivable that the boycott weapon be used against those publishers who switch photos and paragraphs in accordance with segregative preconceptions.

If traditional avenues of textbook publication are inadequate to the challenge of our times, the civil rights movement will seek more effective avenues.

EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

as affected by:

Teacher Attitudes, Understandings, and Communicative Skills

Moderator: **Mrs. Koontz.** Panelists: **Bernard Asbell,** author; **Don Davies,** NEA Commission on Teacher education and Professional Standards; **George Jones,** Miles College (Birmingham); **Mark R. Shibles,** NEA PR&R Commission.

In this area, what are some of the major obstacles to equality of educational opportunity?

1. Failure on the part of many teachers to confront their own attitudes of apathy, racial bias and resistance to social change.

2. Failure of teacher colleges to prepare teachers for inner-city schools and to encourage graduates to accept positions in difficult schools. One participant commented, "Ours has been accused of being the only profession where the practitioner finds his greatest satisfaction in working with those clients who need his help the least."

3. The unwillingness of many school districts and teacher education associations to include human relations training as part of in-service teacher education programs.

4. Unreadiness on the part of educators and their professional associations to take a firm stand on controversial issues. It was pointed out that NEA is an organization that belongs to the membership; if the membership gives the direction, the staff then seeks ways to implement it. The lack of unanimity among the membership—among the state and local associations—on civil rights and related issues has sometimes resulted in a lack of positive direction on the national level.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR CHANGE

A Little-Recognized Teaching Resource:

THE PUPIL AS TEACHER

Bernard Asbell

We know that while large numbers of the children of poverty are failing to learn from their teachers in the classroom, they do succeed in learning from each other in the streets—learning enough so that one becomes a carbon copy of the other's alienation, rebellion, and aimlessness. We know that young children in all neighborhoods are always influenced by older children.

We have not brought ourselves to face the fact that the teachers who are succeeding in slum neighborhoods are the children themselves. These children possess the two magical secrets of successful teaching: They know that their young friends can learn and they know how to begin where the pupils really are. If the *A B C's* and the *1 2 3's* of school work are simple enough for children to learn, they are simple enough for older children to teach—but always, of course, with the adult teacher as guide and supervisor.

I am not postulating a new-fangled theory. I am referring to what is often called tutoring—but I suggest that the potential value of pupil-to-pupil learning teams goes far beyond the limited aims suggested by the word "tutoring."

Recently I have investigated tutoring projects in several Michigan and California cities. In some of these places children as young as sixth-graders are tutors of first-graders. The enthusiasm of the learning teams is remarkably high and has sustained for long periods of time. They seem to have captured the children's motivation to study where the conventional system of the classroom teacher has not. Perhaps the greatest value of these learning teams is not in the transmission of academic material, but in providing the smaller children with sorely needed personal relationships with models who are older—but not too much older. The experience seems to have a remarkable effect on the tutors, who are selected because they themselves seem to be slow learners, even trouble-makers and potential delinquents.

My point today is not that tutoring is the panacea that will solve all our problems. What I am suggesting is that teachers must continue in a painful reappraisal of their professional role. Perhaps much of our trouble lies in the conventional notion that the teacher must hold the exclusive license to dispense knowledge in a school house, even though we know that with alienated children, the old way does not work. Why can't we use our imagination to harness the children's knowledge of each other—indeed, harness their wisdom—*inside* the school *for* the school, instead of *outside* the school and *against* it?

Children can learn motivation and responsibility only by being made responsible. If we will do a little less of what we call teaching and a little more encouragement of organized self-learning, children may become not only more responsible members of school society, but also better models for their schoolmates, which is perhaps the most important thing we can accomplish as teachers.

A Clear and Present Need: COMPENSATION FOR EDUCATIONAL LOSSES OF THE PAST

George W. Jones

The segregated Negro school suffers from the isolation of its faculty from the main professional stream of education in America. Further, the segregated Negro school usually lacks the kind of informed community demand and political pressure that drive good schools to keep up and be first-rate.

There is a definite and demonstrated need to do something positive and constructive NOW about Negro schools, even though some devoted people will feel that such efforts undercut the push to integration. It is my opinion that a serious effort to improve the quality of Negro schools should, in fact, remove some of the resistance to integration and give Negro teachers a better chance of holding their jobs in an integrating system.

After 11 years, only about 10 percent of Southern Negro children are in integrated schools; of that number, less than two percent of newly integrated school enrollments are Negroes. For many years to come, most Negro children will find themselves in predominantly Negro schools as a consequence of residential patterns and fear. It makes no sense to wait for integration to improve the quality of the Negro school.

Practical Suggestions for Strengthening Negro Schools and Faculties

1. A summer school teacher development project located in a private Negro high school in the South, conducted by a university graduate school of education. A group of master high school teachers, Negro and white, would be assembled by the university to go to the high school and work with high school teachers, who need and desire further training.

2. Professional summer institutes for elementary teachers conducted by and at various universities. Teachers in segregated, disadvantaged, culturally isolated schools of the South would be given grants to spend four to six weeks each summer at one of these institutes for professional improvement.

3. Professional summer institutes for secondary and elementary school teachers who supervise intern or student teachers under sponsorship of state departments of education.

4. An expanded domestic Teach Corps employing graduate teachers to teach in predominantly Negro schools.

(Continued page 16, see Jones)

EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

as affected by:

Big City Plans To End De Facto Segregation

Moderator: **John Starie,** Consultant to NEA Local Associations. Panelists: **John Codwell,** Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools; **David Iwamoto,** NEA Research Division; **Mr. Carey, Dr. Finley, Dr. Seeley, Miss Shagaloff, Dr. Brown.**

What, so far, has been the impact of these plans on existing patterns of de facto segregation in large urban school communities?

Although there is no lack of plans that could be utilized by big cities, steps toward their implementation are tortuously "gradual" or non-existent. Meanwhile, minority group ghettoes expand and proliferate in northern and western cities. Non-public school enrollment grows. De facto segregation spreads.

A representative of the NAACP reported that since 1962, approximately 40 suburban school systems in the North and West have either desegregated completely or have adopted substantial desegregation plans as a result of NAACP efforts. With the exception of New York City, none of the middle-sized or big-city school systems have tackled the problem of racial concentrations in the schools or have adopted policies or plans to achieve greater desegregation.

The southern segregationist power structure, its "separate but equal" myth no longer protected by the sanction of law, is increasingly emulating the northern patterns of residential racial containment and substituting *de facto* for *de jure* segregation.

What is the educational validity of the various desegregation plans?

No guarantee either of quality or equality in education is offered by such plans in and of themselves. Desegregation plans are educationally valid only if they are accompanied all the way by strong programs to strengthen school curriculums and to develop democratic understandings, attitudes, and patterns of behavior among all persons involved.

What is the attitude of civil rights groups toward compensatory education proposals, including prekindergarten and class remedial programs in disadvantaged urban communities?

"We strongly urge such programs," said one NAACP official, "as complementary to, but not as a substitute for, maximum desegregation efforts. When any school system outside the South proposes programs to raise educational standards without tackling the problem of the extensive racial concentrations in the schools, this, too, must be recognized as no more, no less, than preserving the old doctrine of 'separate but equal.' "

What can be done by educators to encourage use of sound integration plans in conjunction with programs to increase the educational effectiveness of the schools and the teachers?

They can become more active politically to secure greater financing for education, hold more discussions between civil rights groups and teacher organizations, encourage development of profession-wide teacher assignment policies to break staff segregation. Through their professional associations, at the local, state, and national level, they can encourage teachers to work at the problem of segregated housing, particularly for teachers.

What are some of the barriers separating civil rights groups from educators?

"I had the feeling," one conferee reported, "that the civil rights movement wanted to blame educators for the failure to find immediate solutions to complex problems, while educators resented being held responsible for the social, economic, and human sins of the nation."

- Proponents of social change think in terms of masses of people—teachers think in terms of the individual child.
- Proponents of social change are anxious to manipulate children in order to achieve their social goals, claiming that this will ultimately benefit the child—teachers tend to resist manipulation of children for purposes that do not further the immediate attainment of educational goals.
- Proponents of social change believe in immediate direct action—teachers believe in the slower process of education to change men, who in turn will change society.

There was no disagreement in the group that urban education is inadequate; there were sharp disagreements as to whether some educational remedies are at worst sugar-coated pills or at best treating the symptom rather than the disease.

The blame for failure to resolve the educational ills of the inner city, according to the moderator's discussion report, was passed around from the superintendent to the "power structure," of the community itself, or to the failure of governments to provide adequate tax support for schools. It was pointed out that "mature suburbs" have been able to deal with this problem more successfully than the inner cities and that the difference is basically one of size.

Is there a reconciliation of the apparent differences?

"More discussion between groups," the moderator observed, "might lead to the conclusion that when the tumult in the streets dies down, there still remains a necessity for political action; and that when teachers have expressed their frustration over low economic support and inadequate teaching conditions, there still remains a necessity for political action.

"Perhaps, as we all grow in political maturity, we could agree on some common goals in law and some effective candidates for office, and thereby we could attack the dragon of the power structure in whatever country club he may lurk."

Dinner Meeting

THE ROLE OF INTEGRATION IN EDUCATION

Francis Keppel
U.S. Commissioner of Education

For the past decade this nation has been struggling through a period of trial, testing whether our democracy can establish in fact what it has long proclaimed in words —the inalienable right of every man and woman to equal treatment in our society. Now, with the passage within one year of the Civil Rights Act, the Poverty Act, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, we have our greatest chance to achieve that goal which is the subject of your conference—equality of educational opportunity.

Of all the new legislation affecting educational opportunity, perhaps the most fundamental and yet also the most nettlesome is the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI of this Act says in straightforward, unmistakably clear language that no persons shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

This plainly means that under the new legislation as well as the existing assistance programs, racially segregated or dual school systems must be desegregated if they are to participate. This requirement poses monumental problems. It requires achieving in relatively short order something the courts have not been able to achieve in the eleven years since the Supreme Court Decision of 1954. There is hope now that what might have seemed impossible will be achieved.

Title VI is a powerful force in helping to bring about desegregation. And yet it becomes clearer to us every day that powerful as this clear Congressional mandate

is, it can by no means do the job alone. The Civil Rights Act merely places before local school officials the requirement that they bring about desegregation; it does not achieve desegregation for them. The most difficult job is left to local officials to work out in their own communities.

. . . And the Role of Educators in Integration

If Title VI is really to work, if we are to meet this great and inspiring challenge, there are a number of specific ways in which the profession is called upon to provide essential support.

Our profession can help the public to understand that desegregation is an educational as well as a legal problem. What is basically at stake here is educational opportunity. The Supreme Court Decision of 1954 was rendered not because of some obscure legal principle dredged out of dusty law books. It was rendered because educational opportunities were being unfairly denied.

In those communities where it is difficult to speak out openly in favor of desegregation, members of our profession can help tremendously merely by drawing the attention of the public to the sheer social necessity—regardless of what anyone thinks about civil rights—of assuring the fullest possible education for every citizen.

Once a community commits itself to all-out educational improvement for all its citizens, the civil rights aspects of its school programs can be seen in a positive context. In this way, the profession can, in a manner entirely within its basic professional commitment, help the public to understand that the pursuit and teaching of civil rights is an absolutely legitimate part of education—indeed, that in our democratic society it is an essential responsibility.

Desegregation of the Teaching Profession

Important as these considerations are, however, they teach only the student-half of the equation. It is not enough to achieve integration among children alone. We must take the other equally essential step of ending discrimination within the teaching profession itself.

We can no longer escape the fact that potentially excellent teachers, principals, superintendents—men and women with valuable years of experience and the highest motivations—have been excluded by their colleagues and segregated because of their race and color. This is not rational. It is emphatically unprofessional. And it is certainly illegal.

We must not deceive ourselves that the exclusion of Negro teachers is not noticed by children. They are clearly and poignantly aware of this subtle form of discrimination. What can they assume but that Negroes are not worthy to teach in mixed classrooms? What can the white child assume but that he is somehow special and exclusive, that he is better than his fellows, that he is being protected from some sort of contamination? How can the world of democracy have meaning to such children?

Leadership in righting these wrongs, in ridding ourselves of hypocritical barriers, must come from the educators themselves. Here is a chance for us to show that we really grasp the concepts of democracy—to demonstrate to Negro parents and leaders and to the white community as well that we stand on the side of equality of educational opportunity. If we act before we are acted upon, we will have a chance to mobilize the good will of communities across the land for the work that lies ahead of us in education.

Luncheon Session

Greetings to Conferees

Lois V. Edinger, President
National Education Association

We live in a society where a great many people see a paradox in promoting excellence and in seeking equality. In my estimation, there is no paradox. Every child should have the opportunity to develop his capabilities to the fullest. Children are not the same. They bring to us different talents and different capabilities, different aptitudes, different interests; and we must deal with each child as he is. While we are here today talking about the culturally deprived, we are talking primarily about the urban areas. But as professional people, we are bound to consider all of the children everywhere, no matter where they are, in this great country of ours.

In seeking solutions to our problems, let us be reminded of our NEA resolution: "Solutions to the problems which face public education must maintain and strengthen the priceless heritage of free public educational opportunity for every American. Any movement which would diminish this vital asset would deprive future generations of their birthright and the nation of their services; therefore any such movement will be vigorously opposed by the NEA. Free public schools are the cornerstone of our social, economic, and political structure and are of utmost significance in development of our moral and spiritual values. The survival of democracy requires that every state maintain a system of free public education and safeguard the education of all. The public school system is not expendable."

Herman H. Long

President, Talladega College

. . . On the Emergence of New Hope and Challenge In the Current Revolution

In recent months and years the nation has moved swiftly toward a meaningful confrontation with the problems of racial discrimination and economic deprivation that have chronically affected historically oppressed groups of American citizens. It is an encounter long overdue, and only now are we beginning to sense the deep and complex dimensions of the task at hand. The Negro revolution, as it is called, has released the silent hopes and dreams of generations, created a sense of national awareness and urgency, and set into motion the most widespread corrective changes ever experienced in the life of the nation.

Whether it is our heightened sensitivity to the issues, pervading awareness of guilt, or just the sheer bombardment of our attention by the media of mass communication, we seem nevertheless to be at a stage where the task of achieving equal educational opportunity appears to be more difficult than it was even in the recent past. We seem to be dominated by the problematic aspects of our task and only faintly and occasionally aware of its exhilarating challenge. And yet, the most

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important single fact about the current stage of race relations is that problems previously believed to be beyond attack have been handled by our society, within the short space of a few years, with remarkable facility.

If the educational community is in a vastly stronger position to attack and solve the longstanding problems of racial and class inequity, as indeed appears to be the case, then there is little reason for pessimism; on the contrary there is persuasive evidence to indicate that we are at the point of fresh beginning and high promise. A great deal must hinge on how we define the problems that lie before us, and upon the expectations we bring as to possibility of solution—for we are dealing with matters that concern the human personality and its remarkable qualities of growth and creativity.

The Racial Assumption

To say this, however, reflects upon one of the most persistent and troublesome elements of race relations in this country —the fatalistic belief that we are dealing with a species of problems beyond solution and rational management. Race in America has become much more than individual prejudice in the personal sense; it is an ideology, a set of unquestioned assumptions, a system whose ends and values are self-fulfilling. The shadow of the plantation, as Charles S. Johnson called it, and of the racial ghetto still sets the boundaries of thought, perception, and even of the best-intentioned programs of amelioration.

Even though our best anthropological and psychological knowledge has persuasively demonstrated that race is not a significant factor in determining the individual's capacity to learn and grow, we are nevertheless inclined to assume and perform as educators as if race were in fact significant. At its worst the assumption leads to discrimination; at its best it produces defensiveness and debate. When we no longer have to defend or debate, or when we agree that the issue is not even germane to our basic task, then we really will have made a giant step forward.

Cultural Deprivation: New Label for an Old Assumption?

Changes that are occurring in the racial situation of the school systems of this country are bringing forward a set of new and more subtle issues, part of which involves dilemmas arising from the very effort to engineer the changes. One path we have chosen is that of compensatory education for Negroes and presumably for others "similarly situated"—based on a complex of inadequacies of the racially segregated school, but also upon the assumption of fairly general cultural deprivation. Extremely few educators are bothering to ask what cultural deprivation really means in the first place, or how much deprivation beyond the obviously chronic significantly impairs the learning process. Not even the original researchers into this area claim to know these answers; and responsible educators might well share their concern over the fact that a potentially helpful insight from research has mushroomed into a singular emphasis and grand-scale program.

Most of this seems quite sensible and necessary, but the danger lies in the quality of paternalism which characterizes a good bit of the effort, the negative cultural image which not only does not substitute for racial image, but reinforces it, and the great ease with which the education of the Negro becomes synonymous with compensatory programming from pre-kindergarten through college.

The Search for Ultimate Solutions

Another dilemma we face stems from the constant and frenetic search for *ultimate* solutions. When we say, for example, that school desegregation cannot be accomplished until we solve the housing problem — which seems quite true — we imply that the solution to our task is long-range, not short-range, and we fall into the trap of the older assumptions as to the fixity of the racial system. Certainly, we must strive for the ultimate of the completely integrated society—whatever that may mean—but if we are to achieve this purpose, we need the sophistication and judgment to deal with the immediate and practical, to find satisfaction in small achievements and proximate goals and, above all, to keep the situation open-ended.

Status of the Negro Teacher

Probably the most serious of our immediate problems concerns the status of the Negro teacher in the education profession and his right to survive under conditions of integration. The great advance in school desegregation under the impetus of Federal sanctions may well result in what was feared when desegregation began: namely, the use of the Negro teacher as a pawn, as the dispenable element with which gains in desegregation can be bought. As staff integration approaches, one again sees the fine hand of the racial assumption in operation, which, crudely stated, means that Negro teachers are good enough to teach Negro students but not good enough to teach white students. This issue the professional teacher organizations cannot escape; it is literally crying for redress at local, state, and national levels.

The Challenge to Educators

The supremely important task before us is to define and promote the issues that are meaningful to us as educators for the cause of education. If we allow either the drift of popular opinion or the pressure of events to do this for us, we will fail abysmally. If we approach the task in our classrooms as an effort to test racial assumptions or to prove that the "culturally deprived" children are as smart as other children, or if we approach it only half believing that they are, we will have missed the thrust of the new challenge at hand. We will need to discover and adopt models appropriate to this challenge, some of the important elements of which lie in the unpredictable realm of the human mind and spirit and in the responsiveness of one human being to the ability of another to inspire confidence and self-discovery. This we must somehow do if we are to make the achievement of equal educational opportunity mean something more—and considerably more—than changes in the structure and organization of school systems, or validation of racial hypotheses, or even compensation for the lack of enriching cultural experience.

FINLEY—from page 4

a world of cultural, racial, and ethnic diversity?

How do you resolve the issue between the NEA and the ATA—or of separate Negro and white teacher associations in the South?

How do you find a way to utilize the Negro administrators in schools that have desegregated? What do you do about that Negro teacher in a particular community when integration comes about and the Negro teacher is shunted aside?

How do you motivate the Negro child to educational achievement in a society where the rewards for such achievement are reserved primarily for whites?

For many years the Urban League has been concerned that none of the vocational guidance films available for classroom use ever indicated that there were other than whites in this land of ours. We produced a sound-color slide film on grooming for girls, entitled *Charm By Choice.* We have two Negro girls in it, a white girl, a Chinese girl, and a Puerto Rican, because we think that these represent some of the kinds of girls in the classroom who need grooming. We have also produced, with a grant from the New York Telephone Company, a brand new film treating the dropout problem, called *The Road Ahead,* which is available on a free-loan basis through Associated Films.

NEA Speaks Out on CURRENT NEA PROJECTS

Moderator:
T. M. STINNETT, Associate Executive Secretary
NEA Professional Development and Welfare

TEPS INSERVICE PROJECT
Robert H. Hatch

This is a proposal to assist teachers in overcoming the problems growing out of desegregation and integration of schools and the residual effects of segregation in the South. We believe that the organized teaching profession is in a unique position to provide such assistance. We expect to implement the TEPS Inservice Program through teacher educational regional centers.

The Projects' objectives will be—

1. To provide teachers with an opportunity to participate in biracial discussions of common educational problems and to advance their skills as teachers by helping them to develop better understanding of human and intergroup relations;
2. To increase the number of persons available to the field of education who are experienced in the areas of human and community relations;
3. To assist teachers whose positions are threatened by displacement because of desegregation, through counseling services to inform them of their legal rights and of other teaching opportunities available;
4. To help the teacher overcome the handicaps of limited cultural experience, inadequate preparation, psychological fear of testing, and lack of self-confidence.

PR&R AD HOC COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Oscar E. Thompson

Current events are exposing a clear and urgent need for the extension of PR&R services in carrying out its established responsibilities to protect the professional, civil, and human rights of educators.

As the current school year draws to a close and dual school systems in the South proceed with desegregation plans, the patterns of continuing discrimination emerge. Negro educators face demotion or dismissal as southern school districts move from dual to single systems. An ad hoc committee, appointed by the Commission, has been instructed to explore ways of expanding PR&R services to meet this massive threat to the professional rights of educators.

Part of the Committee's work was planning and preparing for this conference which, in itself, is only a beginning to the kind of communication that must be sustained within our profession and between the profession and civil rights groups if we are to move effectively toward equal educational opportunity for all children and equal professional opportunity for all educators.

Teacher Counseling Service

Another part of the Committee's work is also at the point of beginning; this is the proposal of a counseling service for teachers faced *en masse* with unjust and unreasonable termination of employment. Administered from NEA Headquarters in coordination with state associations, the service would make available to displaced teachers information about employment opportunities in other communities and states, would advise them of the skills and training they might need to meet certification and other employment standards in the new location, and would inform them of the resources which are available to them in case further assistance is needed. Although established initially to serve teachers whose dismissal is a result of school desegregation, the counseling project would be designed to assist any groups of teachers who, through no fault of their own, are facing professional displacement.

DuShane Defense Fund Assistance

Through resources already available, we have been able to provide substantial assistance to teachers in cases of unjust dismissal or other violations of professional rights. One such resource has been the DuShane Defense Fund, which was established for this purpose. In one school system recently, seven Negro teachers were told that they had no jobs because their school would be

closed when the system integrated. The DuShane Defense Fund has paid 80 percent of the costs incurred in the court action filed by the state teachers association. *(The rights of the teachers have since been upheld.)*

In North Carolina, a highly qualified Negro teacher, after 12 years' service, was dismissed on stated grounds of insubordination after she had participated in a campaign to increase Negro regisration and voting. The DuShane Defense Fund financed an appeal to the courts and provided subsistence aid to the teacher, who is still unemployed. *(She is now working in the War on Poverty.)*

NEA URBAN SERVICES
Sylvia Brotman

As a unit of the NEA, the Urban Services, just as the NEA itself, has no official power over affiliated urban associations. All of NEA's affiliated associations are autonomous. Nevertheless, our affiliates turn to the national for information, for research, for assistance—and thus, despite the lack of official authority, as units of the NEA, we manage to be effective.

The clearinghouse is one of our most effective operational methods. By informing urban associations across the country of workable projects being implemented in one area or another, we find that these ideas are picked up with amazing speed across the country. Our recent reports have carried encouraging news in the area of civil rights from several urban associations, including: **Niagara Falls, New York**—After-school study centers, manned by teacher and administrator volunteers and established by the teachers association, are now in operation in three disadvantaged area schools.

Denver, Colorado—Workshops in human relations are being conducted by the teachers association for its membership. Recognizing the need for highly qualified and experienced teachers in slum schools, the president, the past president, and the president elect of the Denver Association have requested and received transfer from the upper middle-class schools in which they have been employed to disadvantaged area schools.

St. Louis, Missouri—Disturbed over the lack of kindergarten services in many areas of the school system, the teachers have formed their own lobbying group and are demanding a $3 million appropriation of the legislature to start a statewide kindergarten service as of this coming September.

Selma, Alabama was the focal point of two separate actions on the part of teachers to demonstrate their professional solidarity with Negro educators embattled in the front lines of the civil rights struggle. An idea that started one day in **Philadelphia** and the next day in **Long Island** has now spread clear across the country. The idea was to collect funds and send cash to Selma. Donations have been pouring in from teachers all over the nation. The other idea also started in Philadelphia, when 14 teachers there decided that they would like an integrated association in Selma. They sent in their dues money and became members of the Selma City Teachers Association. Recent word discloses that 50 **Seattle, Washington** teachers have also joined the Selma Association.

When we in the Urban Project learn of a new idea in operation, we try to spread the word; when we learn of nothing going on, we try to stimulate action.

NEA PROJECT ON SCHOOL DROPOUT
Daniel Schrieber

The NEA Project on School Dropout seeks to encourage development of school programs to decrease the number of dropouts and to provide for the large numbers of young people who now drop out annually. We have worked with the D.C. Urban League in trying to get industry to use methods of employee selections other than the intelligence test with relation to children of the poor. We have been working with the College Scholarship Service and the College Entrance Examination Board, trying to obtain waivers of the required fees for filing a parents' confidential statement and for taking the SAT examination.

The NEA Project is involved with all dropouts—white, Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, American Indian. We serve as a clearinghouse and consultation center to state and private agencies throughout the country.

NEA CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF INSTRUCTION
Robert McClure

The Project on Instruction, which preceded the Center for the Study of Instruction, was an effort on the part of NEA to provide leadership in developing instructional programs that would be responsive to the pressing realities of our twentieth century life: a rapidly changing society, a mounting store of knowledge, and new understandings about people and about learning.

As an outgrowth of the earlier project's work and its recommendations, the Center for the Study of Instruction was established to provide for a continuing study of educational issues, to search for new ideas, to initiate and assist in educational innovations, and to act as an information clearinghouse.

One of the Center's projects, for which we are hoping to receive outside financial support, is tentatively called *Guidelines for Innovation in School Planning.* It involves the selection of four or five school systems where we can work with the staff in implementing the recommendations of the Project on Instruction. We want to establish these systems as demonstration centers embodying comprehensive school programs—programs that will touch all parts of the curriculun and all the schooling aspects of a child's life.

NEA PROJECT ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Burghardt Turner, Director
Long Island, N. Y.

The geographic area encompassed in this institute which we propose contains a high percentage of nonwhite population who are in increasing numbers migrating from the urban centers and the rural South into suburban areas. It is common knowledge that a disproportionately large number of Negro and Puerto Rican families are included among the economically and culturally disadvantaged. Teachers are seeking the skills and knowledge to meet the needs of these children.

The NEA Project on Civil Rights proposes to help the educator recognize and assume his proper leadership role in the realization of equal opportunity for all citizens. The program would bring together teams of educators in a training workshop designed to meet the following objectives:

- To provide factual research information on the extent and effect of de facto segregation on both white and Negro students.
- To explore the causes of prejudice and methods of combatting it.
- To develop among educators greater understanding and sympathy for the civil rights movement as it affects education.
- To develop plans for action which will ensure equal opportunities and common experiences for all children.
- To explore the areas of professional responsibility in civil rights.

D. C. MODEL SCHOOL DIVISION
Norman Nickens

In June 1965, the Washington, D.C. Board of Education approved the idea of the Model School Division, to be instituted immediately in connection with the Community Action Program in our city.

The idea of the Model School Division was originally proposed in a booklet entitled *Innovation and Experimentation in Education* in a report from the Panel on Education for the U.S. Commissioner of Education and the President. It was theorized that perhaps one of the best ways to attack the city's educational problems was to select an area large enough to produce results that would be meaningful in an experimental sense and yet small enough to be manageable, and to establish a model school system here which would have the autonomy to experiment with all kinds of programs. Such an area was defined as the Cardoza High School attendance area —containing the high school, 14 elementary schools, three junior high schools, and one vocational school.

With the cooperation of various universities and NEA consultants, we have mounted some 24 projects in this area. Our program touches directly about 7,500 of the 16,000 pupils in the Cardoza High School area.

We have no panacea here in Washington, but we are convinced that despite textbook shortages, despite building shortages, despite all of the other problems that exist, we must not stand still. We must plan, and we must work, and we must move. To use the old excuse that we don't have this or that can no longer be tolerated, because *our children are here—they have problems, and it is up to us to meet them.*

JONES—from page 8

There is nothing new about anything which I have suggested. In one form or another, all these things are going on now in little patches here and there on the educational map. What holds a lot of communities back is that they do not sense what is possible or what program elements are at hand to put together. This is where groups like NEA, NAACP, the National Urban League, the foundations, and major universities can play a vital role—by developing workable ideas of what can be done if local schools and communities want them.

CLARENCE MITCHELL
Director, Washington Bureau
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People

. . . On Civil Rights Legislation and Professional Responsibility

We now have a civil rights law which can greatly improve the relationships between the citizens of the United States. Even as we meet, the Congress is considering a voting rights bill which will have a profound effect on the lives of all of us.

Provisions of 1964 Civil Rights Act

The 1964 Civil Rights Act strikes down widespread racial discrimination in hotels, restaurants, parks, hospitals, and many other facilities. Under Title IV of the Act the Attorney General may bring suits to desegregate public educational institutions. Federal help is made available to communities trying to desegregate their schools. Title VI provides that all persons in the United States shall have the right to receive any service, financial aid or other benefit under federally-aided programs without regard to race, color, or national origin. Under Title VII of the Act, employers, labor unions, and employment agencies are forbidden to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in hiring, training, promotion, wages, or dismissal. Labor unions are not permitted to segregate members on the basis of race.

Teachers Can Increase Value of the Act

The titles dealing with segregation in public facilities and places of public accommodation should be of special significance to persons in the field of education. It should be the purpose of educators to see that the facilities covered by the law are open to all. It should be the policy of all who plan or assist in planning student affairs that they be held only in those places that obey the law. Where there is a refusal to serve or accommodate all without regard to race, the teachers and school officials should report the evasion of the law to the proper government authority.

The value of Title VI in speeding up equal access to the public facilities benefited by federal funds will be greatly increased if the teachers make certain that no child in the community is denied a service because of his race. It will mean much for children if the teachers who see them in the classrooms are also watchful of the practices of hospitals, vocational training programs, and public libraries.

Title VII gives school guidance counselors a wonderful chance to see that children get wider employment opportunities. Even in northern communities there has been a tendency to direct colored children to the employment slots where it is certain that it is the practice to hire nonwhites.

Good Will and Leadership from Education—
A Vital Asset to Civil Rights Groups

Ernestly, I ask you to know the civil rights workers and organizations in your home communities and in your home states. Approach them as fellow workers for the common good. They have the same aspirations, the same constructive purposes that motivate you. Join with them as they seek to increase voter registration. Give them your ideas and your leadership wherever possible. Above all, do not try to make them accept what you think they ought to have, when they know what they need.

With all of the intelligence, training, and good will that educators have built up through the years, they should be challenged to use their resources to encourage and participate in constructive and corrective action with men and women of good will in all parts of the land.

PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF MINORITY GROUP TEACHERS AND TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

Vernon McDaniel, Executive Secretary
Teachers State Association of Texas

The continued displacement of Negro teachers as a result of desegregation and their exclusion from administrative and supervisory positions are sources of increasing concern to minority group educators—and yet many of them are prevented from taking action by: (1) **anxiety and fear,** arising from the implied threat that if they resist displacement they will be blackballed to other superintendents and will not be able to get any other position; (2) **lack of confidence and skill in the tactics of face-to-face confrontation in seeking adjudication of their problems.**

Thus, in some instances, the failure of the Negro teachers to take action is wrongfully interpreted as an indication that they are satisfied with their minority group status.

In Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, we have, perhaps, the beginning of a new approach to righting professional wrongs against educators. Previously, the burden of correcting a racially discriminatory practice has been on the teachers involved. Title VI places the responsibility for effecting change on the administrative personnel. I visualize that there will be a lessening of tension on the basis of the fact that it will be the authorities who will be taking the corrective action.

Title VI prescribes a target date by which all teachers are to be included in the desegregation process. The bill sets an initial period at which compliance must be certified as part of the new desegregation program. In the light of the 1967 target date, a good-faith start will require that desegregation of faculties begin, along with joint faculty meetings and in-service training programs, in 1965-66.

As the desegregation process has moved forward, there has been anxiety on the part of many of the minority group teachers. Often, the result of this anxiety has been that we have not been able to talk with freedom. Over the long years of separation of the groups, we have come to lose faith and understanding among ourselves; and when this anxiety arises, we are sometimes led to act on the basis of impulse.

We now have to come to a recognition of three imperatives:

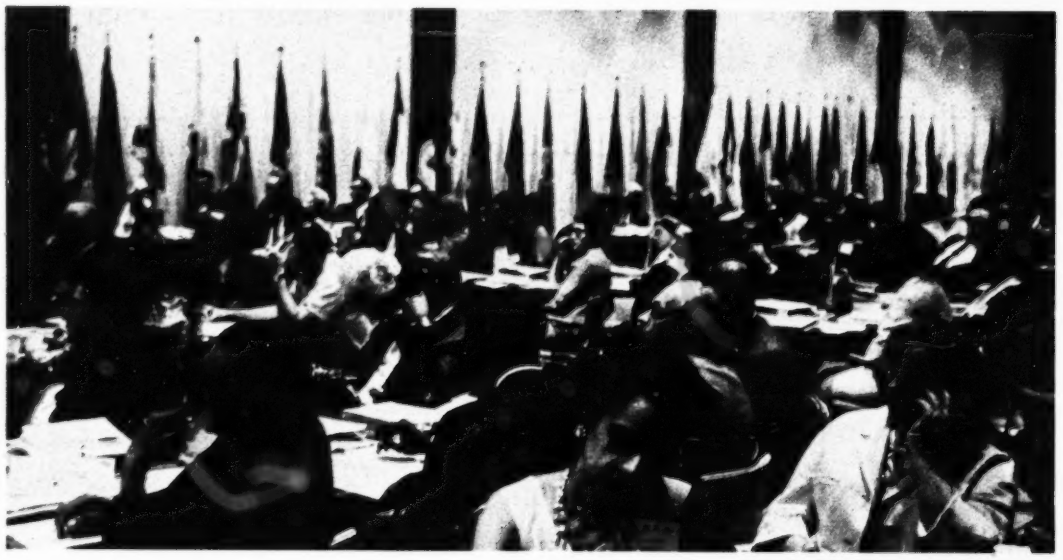
1. **We, as a profession, must establish criteria of effective teaching performance, to be used as a basis for the selection and assignment of teachers.** If we work, not to save our individual jobs, but to save a cause—to promote democracy in the assignment of teachers, we will gain many jobs. But we must develop some weighted indices to effective teaching and academic qualifications for teaching. When we have some measure of determining quality teaching performance, we will be in a far stronger position to see that equality of professional opportunity is realized.

2. **Individual teachers must assume greater responsibility in identifying instances of discrimination in the selection of teaching personnel.** Too often, the teacher is not able to bring to focus what specific practices might be considered as discriminatory. It is therefore difficult to identify a legal basis for attacking the reported discrimination. Until we as a profession are able to help our teachers identify in specific terms, and give them the language that will enable them to express, the discrimination alleged, we will not be able to give them all the help they need. The organized teaching profession has the obligation of educating its members to particular kinds of discrimination and assuring each member that a challenge will be supported with all the resources of the total profession.

3. **There must be a philosophy of attack.** If we are to safeguard the employment rights of our profession, we must have a philosophy of attack which distinguishes between "holding a job" and maintaining a professional position on the basis of qualifications. There must be a streamlining of procedures whereby the teacher will not have to be completely bewildered with delaying red tape when he is trying to present his case for the consideration of the professional group.

THE NEXT STEPS . . .

PLANNING FOR PROFESSIONAL ACTION



At the final conference session, participants separated into small work clusters in which, through free-flowing exchanges of ideas, they sought consensus on steps that should be taken by NEA and by local and state associations toward implementing action programs to assure equal educational opportunity.

Conferees proposed that
LOCAL AND STATE ASSOCIATIONS SHOULD—

ESTABLISH CONTINUING COMMUNICATIONS WITH CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS. —Initiate and encourage meetings between educators and civil rights organizations in the form of workshops, conferences, joint committees and projects.

PLAN FOR FULL UTILIZATION OF TITLE IV OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT— by promoting in-service training for teachers in human relations, academic disciplines, instructional strategies. Cooperation of civil rights groups, universities and colleges, and foundations should be enlisted in these projects.

TAKE A CLEAR STAND ON EMPLOYMENT AND ASSIGNMENT OF TEACHERS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE; PUBLICIZE IT; ACT UPON IT. **Inform** the membership about their professional rights; be ready to **counsel** those whose rights are violated, to **advise** them as to their best course of action and the resources available to them from NEA and other organizations, and to **stand by** them with as much of the local or state association resources as are available.

LOCAL AND STATE ASSOCIATIONS SHOULD—

INITIATE AND ACTIVELY SUPPORT LEGISLATION WHICH WILL MAKE FULL INTEGRATION POSSIBLE AND EFFECTIVE.

SUPPORT SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS AND BOARDS OF EDUCATION WHO ARE EXERCISING LEADERSHIP IN WORKING TOWARD EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY AND SPUR TO ACTION THOSE ADMINISTRATORS AND SCHOOL BOARDS WHO ARE NOT MOVING AHEAD EFFECTIVELY.

INSIST ON THE DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT AND FULL CIRCULATION WITHIN SCHOOL SYSTEMS OF BOARD-ADOPTED PERSONNEL POLICIES, INCLUDING PROVISIONS FOR FAIR DISMISSAL PROCEDURES.

INSIST ON A MORE RESPONSIBLE ROLE FOR TEACHERS AS PROFESSIONAL SPECIALISTS WITHIN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM.—Through **organized** and **sustained professional action,** work toward broadening scope of teachers' responsibility to include cooperation with boards of education and school administrators in developing school curriculums, personnel policies, and plans for desegregation.

IN NORTHERN CITIES, INCLUDE, PARTICULARLY AMONG LOCAL ASSOCIATION SERVICES, ASSISTANCE IN OBTAINING ADEQUATE HOUSING FOR NEGRO MEMBERS.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION SHOULD—

INITIATE AND GIVE CONTINUOUS ENCOURAGMENT TO INCREASED COMMUNICATION AND COOPERATION BETWEEN CIVIL RIGHTS AND EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP.—Seek establishment of joint committees with civil rights groups. By setting an example at the national level, publicizing it, and following it up with the active promotional efforts of NEA field staff members, encourage state and local associations to do likewise.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION SHOULD—

PLAN IMMEDIATE NEXT STEPS TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON THE RESULTS OF THIS CONFERENCE.—Promote and cooperate in conducting conferences of a similar nature on a state or regional basis, to give concentrated attention to the problems and conditions obtaining in specific sections of the country.

WORK WITH AMERICAN TEXTBOOK INSTITUTE TO DEVELOP NEW MATERIALS ADAPTED TO NEEDS OF MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY—to include history of Negroes and other minority groups and to relate in-school learning experiences of children with the realities of their daily lives.

PROMOTE AND CONDUCT RECRUITMENT ACTIVITIES, WORKING WITH TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS IN REVISING TEACHER PREPARATION REQUIREMENTS TO INCLUDE TRAINING IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS AND IN THE SKILLS AND ATTITUDES NECESSARY FOR TEACHERS WORKING WITH CHILDREN OF DIFFERING ECONOMIC, RACIAL, AND ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS.

WORK TOWARD ELIMINATION OF DUAL AFFILIATES—and offer full support and assistance to merging associations.

BRING ALL OF ITS FORCES TO BEAR IN URGING DEVELOPMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF FAIR STANDARDS IN EVALUATING EFFECTIVENESS OF TEACHERS AND ALL STAFF PERSONNEL AND OF DEMOCRATICALLY DRAWN-UP PERSONNEL POLICIES AND FAIR DISMISSAL PROCEDURES.

ORGANIZE FOR BETTER COMMUNICATION WITH STATE AND LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS, WITH THE PUBLIC, AND WITHIN NEA ON THE PROBLEMS THAT HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED IN THIS AREA AND STATE WHAT THE VARIOUS NEA UNITS ARE DOING ABOUT THEM.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION SHOULD—

SEEK TO SHORTEN THE TIME BETWEEN INITIATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF IDEAS RELATIVE TO ALL IMPORTANT PROBLEMS.

APPOINT A STAFF MEMBER WHO COORDINATES ALL WORK ON DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN—so that those who wish to do something in this area can know what is now happening in NEA and how their contribution can best be made, and so that those who need assistance can promptly be guided to the best sources of NEA assistance.

WORK TOWARD IMPROVEMENT IN STATUS OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS SPECIALISTS WITHIN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION.

ENCOURAGE AND ASSIST STATE AND LOCAL AFFILIATES IN DEVELOPING IN-SERVICE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS IN HUMAN RELATIONS, INSTRUCTIONAL STRATEGIES, AND OTHER EFFORTS MEANINGFUL UNDER TITLE IV.

TAKE STANDS ON BROAD RACIAL ISSUES—NOT JUST ON ISSUES AFFECTING CLASSROOMS DIRECTLY.

Work clusters were also asked to consider the kinds of directed social change necessary to remove roadblocks to improved human relations. They emphasized that—

LEGISLATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WILL NOT CURE THE HUMAN FAILINGS THAT MADE SUCH LEGISLATION NECESSARY; THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE LAWS THAT HAVE BEEN PASSED WILL DEPEND, FINALLY, ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF EDUCATION FOR CHANGE.

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY MUST START WITH EDUCATION OF THE EDUCATORS—WITH THE COMMITMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL TEACHER.

Our first step must be self-examination:

What priorities have we set?

How far are we willing to go to achieve clearly recognized goals?

Are we willing to take immediate, personal responsibility, as individuals and groups?

What are the strengths and weaknesses that we possess and what are the strengths and weaknesses of other members and groups in our profession?

We must arm ourselves with information—through collecting and interpreting the facts of discriminatory practices in our own schools and communities, among our fellow teachers, among our pupils. **Each of us must start right where we are, rather than on the far-removed theoretical scene.** If, after positive, unbiased self-analysis, teachers are able to commit themselves openly to the democratic principles that they teach and to act on these principles in their own schools and communities, they themselves can remove many of the social roadblocks to the improvement of intergroup relations.

Conferees proposed that—

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS SHOULD WORK TOWARD CONSTRUCTIVE PROJECTS WHERE THERE IS AGREEMENT, RATHER THAN SPENDING MAJOR EFFORTS IN BEING "AGAINST."
—If groups A and B cannot agree on an issue, perhaps they can form a Group C, which will.

Conferees proposed that—

NEA, STATE, AND LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS SHOULD TAKE A POSITIVE AND SINCERE POSITION ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS AND STRESS THIS POSITION THROUGH ALL COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA.—We should be willing to take the consequences of morally right action. We ought to be out front on current social issues.

EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, AT STATE, NATIONAL, AND LOCAL LEVELS, SHOULD CONTINUALLY INCREASE EFFORTS TO BREAK DOWN APATHY AND RESIGNATION AMONG TEACHERS—through workshops, meetings with civil rights groups and other community organizations, and through close and continuing communication with association membership on vital professional and social issues.

EDUCATORS AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD CONTINUE AND EXPAND THEIR EFFORTS TO RELATE THE SCHOOLS TO THE COMMUNITY, TO ENLIST PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT OF SCHOOL EFFORTS TO PROVIDE EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY.

NEA SHOULD DEVELOP, DISCOVER, AND MAKE BETTER USE OF AVAILABLE SOCIAL RESEARCH ON HOW SOCIAL CHANGE IS ACHIEVED. —We must discover new ways or utilize ways which we already know to bring people together to examine and find solutions to problems of human and intergroup relations.

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The Profession's Bulwark
Against Unjust Attack

National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities

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